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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piquí* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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Matiwana, who was in charge of
the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumaí village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

[5] Oberg (1953, p. 58) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumaí *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwarúp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumaí village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.